# THE NEW REPUBLIC

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## What Syria Means

WHEN the news came that French artillery had bombarded Damascus and killed thousands of Syrians, the first response of decent human beings everywhere must have been anger and revulsion. Not by any stretch of the imagination could the weakly armed citizens of so minor a state constitute a threat to world peace, whatever their ideas or intentions, and it is against the enemies of peace that we are supposed to be fighting. When it was remembered that the occasion of the disturbance was a French demand for bases and other concessions from a supposedly independent nation, backed up by newly arrived armed forces, disapproval must have been intensified. This instance is a reminder to all of us that the Germans are not the only people capable of military ruthlessness in their own interest, nor the Russians the only ones practising unilateral action and power politics.

On all these grounds the blunt demand of the British government that the fighting cease and the dispute be submitted to negotiation, however offensive it may have been to French pride, was justified. Unfortunately, however, the British government was not the best agency to intervene. It had itself set the fashion for shooting populations of independent states in pursuit of unilateral aims, by its armed intervention in Greece. And in the Near East it is an imperial rival of France, with commitments of its own to the Arab League, which we may assume have been made not merely in the interest of world order and freedom, but also in pursuit of imperial policy. Even if it is true, as General de Gaulle charges, that the Syrians and Lebanese were prompted to resist by British agents, that is no excuse for the French action. But the role of the British in the area is certainly enough colored by self-interest so that no other consequence of the Churchill ultimatum could have been expected but an embitterment of Anglo-French relations and a menacing international crisis.

One can excuse both the French and the British by reference to their special circumstances. Even the most deplorable behavior does not take place in a vacuum. The French, recently victims of military conquest and occupation, are sensitive and bent upon restoring their national prestige and power. Every other colonial empire is strengthening its ties and resisting any approach either to dissolution or international control. The only opportunity for France to resume her place as a great power is to retain and organize the vast stretches of territory in other continents over which she has or can claim dominion. While Syria and Lebannon have been under its rule only as the consequence of a League of Nations mandate, and have technically been granted independence, French influence in the Near East depends on retaining a dominant position within them, just as British influence depends on similar dominance in Egypt, Palestine and other Near Eastern states. Moreover, British nurture of the Pan-Arab movement must seem threatening to a nation which possesses such large areas of African territory inhabited by Arabs.

The British of course need control of Suez and all adjacent territory to safeguard their lifeline to the Far East. They need Middle Eastern oil and Egyptian cotton. They need the ability to prevent any

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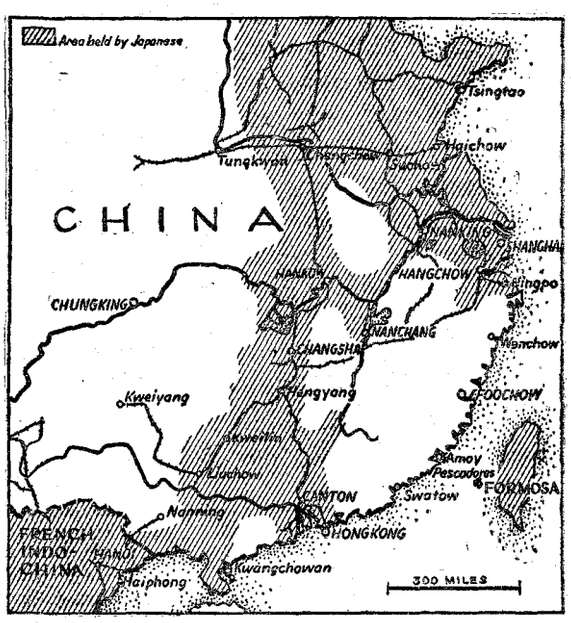
possible interruption of their communications in the Mediterranean. Though, unlike the French, their country was not occupied and ruled by the German conquerors, the loss of their foreign investments as a result of the war has made protection of their foreign trade and imperial economic interests doubly important.

But all this merely serves to reëmphasize lessons that were supposed to have been learned as a result of the First World War. Colonial imperialism which exploits native populations, not only at the point of a gun but also through exclusive economic arrangements, is both unjust to those populations and a menace to world peace. Imperial policy of the traditional kind is certain to lead to disaster. The Franco-British dispute over Syria and Lebanon contains not a single important new element to distinguish it from the dangerous clashes of nineteenth-century imperialism. Why should it, since the heads of both states are imperialists of the traditional type? It is not the business of Americans to intervene in the international politics of either, but we perhaps are entitled to express our settled opinion that if the ideas and interests represented by Churchill in Britain and by de Gaulle in France (at least in this realm of activity) remain in power, the hope for future world peace is slight.

Of course the only possible means of solving such problems, aside from better imperial policies on the part of the single great powers, has long been recognized to be international organization capable of expressing the general interest in just and wise government of colonies, equal access to trade and resources, the provision of security against armed aggression, and the settlement of international disputes before they reach the acute stage. In other words, the whole question should have come before an organization of the kind which the nations are now trying to set up at San Francisco. It cannot do so before that organization has started to function, but in the meantime the same principles ought to be applied. It is urgently necessary for the great powers now to renounce, singly and jointly, unilateral action either in taking armed measures or in opposing such measures on the part of others. They ought promptly to agree to intervene together to settle both the Near Eastern question and every other menacing dispute. General de Gaulle's proposal to this effect is a good one, and is a deserved rebuke to Mr. Churchill's unilateral ultimatum.




China Beginning to Stir

For the first time in nearly four years, Chinese armies are beginning to see Japanese backs in the region around Nanning and along the corridor from Liuchow to Changsha. The capture of Nanning cuts off the Japanese overland connection to Indo-China, but this was always more of a hope than a fact in any case. The real test will come farther east, when the Chinese begin to menace the Canton-Hankow line. Their army may be insufficiently modernized to interrupt this line, but they should at least be able to pin down considerable Japanese forces for its retention.

## Military Review

THERE IS a certain lack of significant detail about the reports of recent Chinese victories which raises the question as to how much they are genuine advances and how much Japanese retreats. The answer, as is not unusual in such cases, probably lies somewhere along the median line. The Chinese Sixth Army is undoubtedly a better formation than anything the Japs have encountered for years in that distressed land, and with supplies now beginning to come over the Hump in appreciable quantities, a beginning has been made toward the construction of an effective military force. But it is doubtful whether that force is yet strong enough to drive an experienced and well equipped Japanese army from any position it is really determined to hold. Even the Sixth is still only an infantry-and-artillery army which achieves gains, not in the face of modern mechanized equipment, but because the mechanized equipment does not appear to be there.

Nowhere, except at Nanning, have these gains yet engulfed any area the Japanese would need for the maintenance of their position in China, and Nanning represented to the Japanese less an actual possession than the ambition to set up an overland rail connection to Indo-China and the south. There is also the fact that Chinese advances have been accompanied by persistent reports of Jap troop withdrawals in the direction of Manchuria and a good deal of speculation that the idea behind this is preparation to meet an attack from the Soviet.

The last hypothesis can probably be dismissed—for the present. A large portion of the Japanese army has

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been in Manchuria for some time and the Japanese High Command has presumably been satisfied that the Manchurian force was adequate to meet the Siberian forces of Russia, for there have been numerous occasions during the past four years when the Japs had available considerable numbers of unengaged troops which could have been sent north and were not. If the realignment is being made in anticipation of attack from the troops of European Russia, then it is too early. To send east the soldiers who conquered Germany would impose upon the Soviets a redeployment problem that makes our own look light. All those men and their equipment would have to be moved halfway around the world down the line of the Trans-Siberian railroad, and if the movement actually started, there would be time enough for the Japanese to make any necessary readjustments along the far shorter and more numerous routes they have in China.

Moreover, the changes in Japanese arrangements have been accompanied by a vigorous offensive against the French in Indo-China, attacks on the Chinese in the region of Foochow and the strengthening of coastal positions opposite Formosa, which does not look at all like a general abandonment of southern China for a defense in Manchuria. It is rather a change in the whole imperial defensive system in anticipation of the far more immediate danger of heavy attacks by American forces. One can perhaps gain some idea of the nature of the new system by considering the case of Okinawa and the fighting in the hills east of Manila.

In both cases the Japanese made no attempt to conduct field operations; everyone remembers how freely they gave us the landings on the beaches of Okinawa. In both they retired to hill and cave positions organized around large numbers of concealed guns. Both defenses seem on the verge of collapse as this is written, but this should not conceal the fact that within the Japanese frame of reference, both have been highly successful. East of Manila they have imposed great hardship on the city by controlling its water supply for a long period. On Okinawa they have inflicted higher casualties proportionally on the American forces than in any similar operation of the war, and in the concurrent operations against our fleet off the island they have inflicted an amount of damage which is reflected in casualty figures almost double those of Pearl Harbor.

This has not saved the island for them, and its capture will presumably make the next steps considerably easier for our forces, but from their point of view they have discovered a good formula for defense, and the withdrawals, shifts and changes of command all the way from Shantung to Sumatra have the appearance of being dictated by an extension of this formula to the whole area they have to defend. Neither their men nor their officers have been able to accomplish anything against the Allies in field warfare; now they are going to try cave warfare on a large scale.

We may take it that new methods of offense will be brought against them; for this is the significance of the change from Spruance to Halsey. Partly this is a normal rotation of commands, made necessary by the fact that under the conditions facing our ships in the Western Pacific, fatigue becomes the most dangerous of all enemies, especially at the higher levels of command. But it is partly also the substitution of one type of commander for another, and Halsey bears the name of being the most offensive-minded of all the Pacific leaders.

## Veto on Discussion

The lone stand of the Soviet Union that any single member of the Security Council should be able to veto even consideration of the complaint of a member nation seems to us unjustified. We do not know what was agreed upon at Yalta in this respect, though the Russian position is contrary to the news of the compromise as given out by President Roosevelt. But whatever the agreement was, the principle of refusing to hear an argument is a bad one for any institution seeking to maintain peace and justice.

Let us take, as a concrete example, the present dispute between France on the one hand and Syria and Lebanon on the other. If the Russian position were accepted, a veto by France could prevent the issue from coming before the Security Council. Yet this is just the sort of issue which may not only impugn the good faith of the Big Five but endanger the international peace. If France fought the Arab states as a result, or even Britain, the international organization would have to regard the hostilities as a private war. Not only could it not take any police action; it could not even discuss the matter. Collective security would have no meaning under such circumstances. Fortunately, France is not taking this position at present, but is asking for intervention by the Big Five. It is difficult to see what motive any power could have for a different course except a bad one.

## Still a Fascist Country

Arnaldo Cortesi, Buenos Aires correspondent for the New York *Times*, sends from that city a dispatch pointing out that the fascist terror continues unabated in Argentina. The "state of siege" still exists, which abrogates civil liberties. Censorship is drastic; at least eight newspapers have been suspended and at least seven prominent newspaper editors arrested. The jails are filled with political prisoners, some of whom have been held for two years without trial. An anti-fascist has virtually no choice except imprisonment or exile.

No *New Republic* reader, we assume, is so naïve as to be surprised at this news. Fascist countries do not change suddenly, or except in response to overwhelm-

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ing pressure. In this case, if Argentina is changing at all, she is getting worse, believing she has been encouraged in her present course by the United States.

It now seems clear that it was this country which insisted Argentina be admitted to the San Francisco Conference; that the move was engineered by the appeasement group in the State Department which worked on and through Stettinius and Nelson Rockefeller; that the action was intended to be hostile to Russia and was so interpreted in Moscow; and that the moral defeat to this country was the worst we have experienced in years.

Luckily, it is not too late. If it can be shown that Argentina is at San Francisco under false pretenses, we see no reason why she should not be requested to leave, even though it is true that the United Nations organization is not yet in effect, and has not yet completed its rules regarding the possible expulsion of its members. A condition of Argentina's admission was that she sign the final document of the Mexico City Pan-American Conference. That document embraced not only the Act of Chapultepec, but some 60 other resolutions, one of which was the "reaffirmation" of the Atlantic Charter. The third section of the Charter says:

> Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Argentina is flouting this document to which she pledged allegiance, as Ambassador Spruille Braden broadly hinted in a speech a few days ago. She is at San Francisco under false pretenses; and should be asked to leave, and to stay away unless and until she has restored democracy to her people.

*Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

Menacing Our Groceries

## Compromise in China?

It is too early fully to evaluate the resignation of General Chiang Kai-shek as Premier of China and the succession of Mr. T. V. Soong. It may be a routine reshuffle to free the Generalissimo from those governmental burdens which may have kept him from devoting all his time to his military responsibilities as Chinese Commander-in-Chief. But it may also be the result of the steadily increasing criticism by world public opinion which has frowned upon the stubborn Chinese leader as the main obstacle to unity between the Communist Yenan government and the Kuomintang-controlled Central Government. Mr. Soong is known to have a more Western orientation than Chiang, and his assumption of China's most important office may well facilitate an early solution of the country's chief internal problem. Less compromised in the eyes of the world, Mr. Soong is in a position to state the case of his government more objectively when he goes, as he is expected to do, to Moscow. Russia, as may be judged from a recent article in *Izvestia*, is vitally interested in the establishment of unity in China and seems ready to support any move which would point toward the creation of a genuine coalition government between the Communists and the Kuomintang. If this is Russia's policy, it might go a long way to help avoid civil war in China which is feared by many observers as inevitable unless a quick compromise is reached.

## Surplus Disposal

The resignation of former Senator Guy M. Gillette from the chairmanship of the Surplus War Property Board has focused renewed attention on the board's work. Various former colleagues of Gillette's in the Senate have revealed to the press that his resignation is in protest against the present limited powers of the board. Those close to Gillette know that he has never liked his job, that he is far from strong in the technical knowledge and attention to detail it involves. The present flurry of comment is probably a prelude to the fight monopolistic business interests have been planning to launch to obtain further crippling amendments when the Surplus Property Act comes up for congressional renewal in the near future.

The greatest need right now is not for revisions in the present act, but good administration of the one we already have. We need speed in establishing all the basic regulations for surplus disposal so that orderly disposition can then go forward. The man appointed to succeed Gillette as chairman should certainly be chosen, not as a matter of political patronage, but with the utmost care for his knowledge of our industrial economy and demonstrated ability to administer a most complicated operation.

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### Reconversion—the Human Side

President Truman has taken up the fight for adequate unemployment insurance for war workers during reconversion where President Roosevelt left off. As a Senator last year, Harry Truman fought for the Murray-Kilgore demobilization bill to provide a federal system of unemployment benefits up to $35 per week for any period during which workers are jobless. When Congress rejected this proposal in favor of an inadequate "states' rights" compromise, Mr. Truman undoubtedly agreed with President Roosevelt's statement that the act "does not adequately deal with the human side of reconversion."

Now President Truman has sent an urgent request to Congress for immediate action on a proposal for a federal system of unemployment benefits to provide at least $25 per week for a person with dependents for a maximum of 26 weeks in any one year; thousands of workers not now covered by social security are included. Mr. Truman knows that this request means a fight with Congress on the "states' rights" issue, if on nothing else. He has shown real courage in meeting this fundamental issue squarely, and he will need all the help he can get to win against "Muley" Bob Doughton, Ways and Means Committee chairman, and other key congressional leaders who are against the President's program.

## Science and Democracy

"In an age of planning, it is far better to plan for freedom than to fire a shotgun at all planners." In these words Kirtley F. Mather, professor of Geology at Harvard University, sounded the keynote for the third annual Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith, held at the Society for Ethical Culture in New York City on the week-end of May 25. Under the theme "Science for Democracy," the assembled scientists, philosophers and educators wrestled with some of the problems involved in getting scientific judgment into the determination of democratic policy. If we are to plan for freedom, then we must be free to do so. That means overcoming the personal and social blockages which stand in our way. The conference was acutely aware that unless we do so in the immediate future, reactionary movements may prevent our doing so altogether.

The conferees recognized that while science may be used by a totalitarian regime—witness the technological advances made under the Nazis—its progress requires an atmosphere of freedom. Only in a free society can there be genuinely free inquiry. To be sure, private industry, in the form of cartels and monopoly agreements, threatens to limit research and close off avenues of investigation. Cases were introduced to show that, even during the war, vital improvements have been sidetracked by private interests. But if industrial research can be more democratically planned, with working scientists themselves having more to say about the lines of inquiry to be pursued, and if abuses in the patent system can be rectified, the group agreed there might be an increasingly fruitful relation between science in industry and in academic institutions.

The more troublesome question had to do with the relation of science to broader issues of democracy. Scientists should function in government, not as subservient employees of political officials, but as their colleagues in the planning of policy. Yet the dogmatism of some economists was assailed by Judge Jerome Frank of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. The daily press played up his recommendation that psychiatric consultation should be made available for harried administrators. His real point was that both officials and economists, as coadjutors in the general field of applied anthropology, should be conscious of their own inner drives and predilections, so that both they and others could evaluate policy more objectively.

Democratic organization is the form best adapted to emotional stability and mental equilibrium. It requires objectivity of judgment for its most efficient functioning. Hitherto, science has primarily been used to speed up the production of things. It is now essential, as Paul B. Sears, professor of Botany at Oberlin College, insisted, that it be used to safeguard our natural resources and ensure the proper distribution of goods. When we so use it, an economy of abundance will be ours. That depends not only on the education of scientists to their social responsibilities, but on the education of the rest of us, so that we create a society in which scientists can function freely. As Professor Sears observed in commenting on the education we need: "When we begin to feel the order of nature in our very bones, then only will we respect it and proceed to shape our institutions, our lives and the lives of our children in harmony with it."

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# America, Russia and the World

THE WAR from which we are now emerging might be called a thirty years' war. It began in 1914 and has, in the main, continued in one form or another for more than thirty years. Only for a brief time in the twenties was the world really at peace. When we dip deeply into the economic and scientific causes of these thirty years of terrible struggle we find the outstanding factor to be the unequal rate of industrialization and the consequent unequal growth of population and political power among the nations.

This factor produced tensions which were used by ambitious, ruthless nations to create international earthquakes. As a result of these earthquakes the United States and Russia now emerge as the two most powerful nations in the world. The United States has nearly half the world's industry and Russia is on the way to developing a large share of the remainder. Since 1928 Russia has changed from an overwhelmingly agricultural nation to a powerful industrial nation. Moreover, her population is growing faster than that of any other great industrial nation.

Technology and war have destroyed Western Europe as the center of world power. The two powers which now come to the top have no colonies and do not believe in colonies. They both claim to have great respect for the rights of small peoples, but both have occasionally stepped over the line when the principle of national defense is involved. The two nations are so geographically placed that they have never had conflicting basic interests. The Russian and American people instinctively like each other. Neither the Russian nor the American people wishes to use modern technology as an instrument of war. We want to raise the standard of living of our peoples and we do not want to exploit other people. Both the Russians and the Americans in their different ways are groping for a way of life which will enable the common man everywhere to get the most good out of modern technology.

This does not mean there is anything irreconcilable in our aims and purposes. Those who so proclaim are wittingly or unwittingly looking for war, and that, in my opinion, is criminal. We in the United States are certain our methods will bring more liberty and a higher standard of living. The Russians are equally certain that if they are given the opportunity of peaceful development, their system will eventually deliver the most satisfaction to their people. Both of us believe in the maximum use of technology and both of us believe in peace. Both of us want to see the so-called backward nations industrialized so that the standard of living may be more uniform over the entire world.

Recent developments in electronics and chemistry tend more and more to free all nations from dependence on specific resources. Idealistic reformers who have long tried to raise the standard of living of the poor and the backward peoples now receive unexpected help from a technology which in the lifetime of some of us will make it possible for nearly every industrious people in the world to enjoy a good standard of living. The irresistible trend of the modern industrial system is toward worldwide equalization of techniques.

This trend toward equalization reverses the order of world trade which grew up in the nineteenth century. Sixty years ago a few hundred million people in Western Europe and the Eastern United States owned the world's workshop. Out of it they drew great profits and the egotism to proclaim cultural and political leadership. This overlordship of the Western nations has passed. We now know that no one world region can long claim exclusive economic leadership. In the years immediately ahead we see the United States, Russia and the British Empire producing 85 percent of the world's industrial output. But we also see the stirrings of a rapidly expanding industrial consciousness in Latin America, China and the Near East. Shall we minister to that consciousness with the services of experts and the sale of goods? Or should we consciously endeavor to prevent the industrialization of the so-called backward nations by withdrawing from the world market?

Personally, I have no question as to our decision. I shall not go into the weighty economic arguments. The political, security reasons are enough for me. We must trade in the most friendly way possible with Latin America because that is our back door. We must trade with England and Western Europe because that is our side door. We must trade with Russia to prevent the world splitting into two hostile ideological camps. We must trade with China because the future peace of the world may depend on the friendly and sound industrial development of this great agricultural people.

We are only 140 million people in the United States even though we do have half the world's industrial power. Ninety percent of the world is in trouble because of the war. It is not only good business and the last word in unselfishness, but the highest altruism, to help the 90 percent.

Everywhere, for our own sake and the world's sake, we must do our utmost to help the devastated and so-called backward nations to produce, transport and distribute goods in an ever increasing flow to their starving, sick and underprivileged people. We cannot do the work for these peoples, but we can point the way and we can furnish the "seed" capital and the knowledge of how to use "seed" capital to produce "high-standard-of-living" crop.

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The so-called backward areas of the world have a total population of more than one billion persons. It probably will be impossible for these areas rapidly to bring about widespread education, the building of dams, the construction of highways and airports, and the building of factories without help from the United States or England.

For instance, there will be less future conflict in the world, in my opinion, if England and especially the United States help China to educate her people and to industrialize. We won't want China to use the methods used by Japan. There is a greater probability of a strong democratic China if we help her in the postwar period than if she tries to do it chiefly by herself.

International peace and higher standards of living for the peoples of the world will depend on the intelligence with which we deal with our international economic problems. High levels of production and distribution, opportunities for new capital investment, and maintenance of full employment on a sustained basis in the United States as well as throughout the world, will depend in considerable measure on the extent to which the nations of the world are prepared to recognize their interdependence, and to coöperate in determining and achieving economic objectives that are mutually advantageous. The United States, in its own interest, as well as in the interest of the poorer nations, must be prepared to play an active role in promoting the industrialization of the backward areas of the globe.

Actions such as these, designed to increase the productivity, the purchasing power and the standard of living of the poorer peoples of the world, would not only promote worthy international social and economic objectives, but would also help assure prosperity and avoid postwar economic collapse at home. Moreover, and perhaps of greatest importance, achieving a sound international economic order is a fundamental prerequisite to the preservation of peace. The Bretton Woods proposals, the pending reciprocal-trade and tariff legislation and the San Francisco Conference are the types of measures that have the central purpose of establishing mechanisms and goals to permit orderly international coöperative action toward common objectives. Their objectives should have backing and active support of all persons and organizations interested in prosperity and world peace.

Looking toward the future, I wish to express my belief that the doctrine of *noblesse oblige* should apply not merely to individuals but also to nations. I have observed that this doctrine applied in private life usually pays the individual businessman. This doctrine applied in international life will, in my opinion, pay the Unted States. It will pay the United States in short-time business returns, and it will also furnish the best guarantee for future peace. The one way in which the United States can effectively assist in guaranteeing the long-time peace of the world is by helping to promote economic conditions everywhere that will favor continuous growth of freedom and equality in all the lands.

HENRY A. WALLACE

# The U. S. A. at San Francisco

IT NOW APPEARS that in the midst of the construction of a peace machine for the world, the United States is in the process of evolving for itself a new mode of international life. From a parochial American viewpoint, the enunciation this week of the firm policy that this country's interests extend around the world and the American assumption of the role of mediator may well dwarf the not too brilliant accomplishments of the fifth week of the conference of United Nations.

The principal address on foreign policy delivered on May 28 by Secretary of State Stettinius had somewhat of an electrifying effect in this temporary diplomatic capital of the United States. The conference on world security was in the midst of another of its weekly crises—this time on the challenge by lesser nations of the unqualified veto claimed by the great powers. The technical committees were as deeply buried as ever in oratory and the tangled networks of parliamentary maneuver. The 49 delegations were steadily convincing themselves that now that they had missed the 30-day target originally set by Anthony Eden as the objective for adjournment, they must certainly also miss the June 6 target set later by Stettinius and President Truman.

In such an enervating environment, Stettinius' statement of the policy of "one world" came close to achieving ringing tones. At any rate, it lent important encouragement to the younger and more vital group of State Department technicians here who have been hoping for months that such a statement could be made.

This group—some of whom aided in the extremely difficult task of fighting the policy statement through to approval at the top of the department—places the greatest possible stress on its significance. They count their victory in the 84 words of this speech whereby Stettinius proclaimed without equivocation that the "interests of the United States extend to the whole world" and that "we must maintain those interests in our relations with the other great powers and we must mediate between them when their interests conflict among themselves."

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This entire 84-word paragraph, it is contended here, is at once a new orientation of the position of the United States in the Security Council now under construction at the world conference and a new orientation of relationship of the United States with Great Britain and Russia in attempting to unravel the tangled skein of European political structures and issues.

From this point of view, the Stettinius enunciation places the United States, in the role of mediator between Britain and Russia, in a position to accept responsibilities and act as conciliator in any situation in which those interests may clash. Certainly if the interests of this country extend "to the whole world," there can be no exclusion of the paramount qualification of the United States to act as mediator or conciliator in any area where there seems to be a danger that British and Soviet policies might cut across each other's lines.

The technicians who helped frame this concept believe that this middle role is the logical one for the United States to assume in the Security Council. In arriving at this conclusion, they base their reasoning on the assumption that for the next decade or quarter of a century, at least, the true power in the world organization will lie not with the so-called Big Five but rather with the present Big Three.

Under this concept, it will no longer be possible for the United States to wash its hands of any remote trouble and assign complete hegemony to one of its allies, as was the case when Britain moved into Greece at the moment of liberation. By this rule, it would have to accept partial, although not necessarily principal, responsibility for such a situation as developed at the time of the tragic Greek civil war. It would have to insist upon joint consultation on all moves until a policy evolves that is capable of maintaining not only the peace of the region but also the basic amity among the three chief powers of the world.

Apparently the youthful Secretary of State has been absorbing knowledge of the play of forces at this conference. There have been sufficient evidences here, in the operations of the Latin American bloc and the groupings of Eastern European states behind Soviet leadership, that no matter what was proclaimed about the end of spheres of influence by Cordell Hull and the late President Roosevelt, such spheres are still the most real facts of international life. But the assertion of this country's right to participate, and even mediate, in any or all such spheres, opens for the first time a practical means of diluting their limited political development and providing an escape from the danger of regional isolationism or sectional nationalism which would cripple if not destroy the "one-world" concept on which the new security organization is to be based.

If the promulgation of this idea in the form of unqualified policy is the positive criterion it appears to be, Mr. Stettinius was doing more than merely using words when he echoed the historic Litvinov idea that "world peace is indivisible."

Since that is so, the formulators of this policy face without qualms the prospect that the new and closely knit political world over which the United States is making attempts to exercise joint leadership may see the fading of some of the original concepts of the Monroe Doctrine. If Russia is to let the United States know what she is doing in Yugoslavia, and Britain is to consult with us on Greece, it logically follows, since reciprocation is to be the rule, that the United States must let Russia and Britain know what it is doing among the 20 Latin American republics of the Western Hemisphere.

Such an idea may send shudders down the spines of that sect which is accustomed to think in terms of nineteenth-century constructions of the Monroe Doctrine and Western Hemisphere peace maintained by the first Roosevelt's big stick. But, in the viewpoint of those technicians whose thinking has been embraced by Stettinius, the world now has to be considered as one family. And if it is that, then the United States can no more build a barrier around its hemisphere than could Germany erect a super-fascist state in a supine and shattered Europe and isolate it from the rest of mankind.

The crux of the problem of developing this policy appears to lie in the lack of leadership in the Department of State. It would be idle for diplomats to aspire to the United States's achievement of a middle role of "honest broker" between Britain and Russia, in circumstances in which the State Department allows events to drift and public opinion to be led down vicious bypaths by irresponsible journalism and anachronistic figures in Congress.

If Anglophobia was a characteristic of the fight against the Wilsonian concept of the League of Nations, Russophobia is equally the characteristic of American officialdom here in San Francisco. From Senator Vandenberg and Representative Eaton, through W. Averill Harriman and Nelson Rockefeller, there has been no single opportunity missed at any time to throw rocks in private at the Soviet hobgoblin. When the records of American delegation sessions are opened at some future date, the transcripts of real and imagined fears and proposed diplomatic counter-offensives against Russia will throw considerable light on why the Soviet delegation has not felt exactly like the guest of honor at the international feast.

To make good the new policy now set forth so bluntly by Stettinius, there will have to be a fresh approach to leadership in the Department of State. It is becoming obvious here that President Truman is giving Stettinius the reins in the day-to-day conduct of foreign policy. He was consulted and informed of this statement and asquiesced. But this time the initiative came up from the department itself, and not from the

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White House. And therein lies the opportunity of the Secretary of State.

If he can retain the initiative, throw off the deadweight of the fusty old guard which would rather scream at a Soviet scarecrow in the Balkans than stare at an Argentine fascist in its own backyard, Stettinius may make good the ambitious policy he has now envisaged. If he does not assume this leadership, it will be difficult indeed for the charter now emerging at the United Nations conference to have more than a fighting chance for true vitality.

*San Francisco* THOMAS F. REYNOLDS

# Meeting the Red Army

THE PLACE we picked for our formal meeting with the Russians was just on our side of the Elbe, a magnificent old manor house. Lieutenant Colonel Whiteford, who commands the third battalion of the 175th Regiment, was using it for his command post and it was one of his patrols on the east bank that had made first contact with the Soviet troops approaching our sector.

The Russian commander, Major General C——, was supposed to arrive at six in the evening. We were assembled and ready fifteen minutes ahead of time, standing in the sunlight on the steps in front of the main entrance (as the Signal Corps photographers requested). Over the door was a big sign, "Welcome, Russians!" in Russian letters on a sheet. Inside, in the banquet hall, we had a table full of roast beef and cheese for sandwiches, Scotch and fruit-juice punch.

We felt some uneasiness—more, that is, than the standard amount which precedes formal military functions. For weeks we had listened to alarming rumors, most of them originating among the German civilians, about Russian "savagery" and even our own paper, *Stars and Stripes*, had printed an odd story saying that farther up the river, where contact had been made several days earlier, there was reticence and aloofness on the part of the Red Army. We didn't know what to expect of the Russians and we didn't know exactly how we were supposed to behave. At the same time everybody felt excited. We had talked and joked and looked forward to this meeting all the way from Normandy—331 days of anticipation.

Promptly at six o'clock the Russians' car drove up, but instead of coming all the way up the driveway to the steps, it stopped about a hundred yards away. General Sands, our division artillery commander, saw that it would be awkward to wait in place while the Russians walked toward us, so he started forward and all the rest of us followed. The cameramen, ready and set for pictures on the steps, were dismayed. The two generals halted a few paces apart and exchanged salutes; then General Sands shook General C——'s hand and the rest of us crowded around them, everybody straining to hear and see and the photographers begging for a little room to get a clear shot.

General C—— said a few words of prepared greeting about how happy the Russians were to meet their American allies. General Sands replied that we had been looking forward to seeing the Russians since the Normandy D-Day landing. We all smiled and the Russians smiled back, warmly and genuinely, but both we and they, I think, felt constricted by the official nature of the moment.

There were five officers with General C——: his Chief-of-Staff, the G-2, one of the regimental commanders, the division political officer and a war correspondent for *Pravda* with the rank of captain. They looked fine, fit and happy and fresh, although they had just completed an astonishingly long and rapid march. They were more dressed up than we were, blouses with many medals, boots and spurs in contrast to our drab field uniforms. Except for General C——, who was about standard American-general size and extraordinarily handsome, they were smaller than most of us. The political officer, a major, wasn't more than five feet one or two. The Chief-of-Staff's head was shaved perfectly clean and he laughed at this when he took off his cap and patted the top of his head. He was very young, full of vitality and laughter, whereas the *Pravda* correspondent looked slightly worried most of the time, possibly because he had a hard time getting all our names spelled properly.

We had heard that according to Russian custom it is bad manners to drink a toast without draining the glass. That had worried us because our Scotch, while not up to prewar strength, still has power. Our worry was groundless. The Russians drank the first toast bottoms up, all right, but I am not sure who was imitating whom; from then on the approved rate was one swallow per toast and our side seemed to keep up fairly well with the pace. The Russians did insist that each glass touch every other glass. With about twenty in the combined party, that involved a lot of leaning across the table, laughing and, of course, spilling.

In short order all the uneasiness and formality disappeared. Everybody was trying to talk at once, to our two interpreters' despair. Our conversation was limited. The Russians knew "okay" and we knew "da" and both of us could say, "Germany alles kaput, da, da, okay!" We traded collar insignia and cigarettes and signed each other's paper money, and when periodically someone rapped for silence, we all arose and toasted the furtherance of Soviet-American friendship.

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General Sands presented the gifts we had gotten ready as tokens of the meeting: a specially drawn map showing our dispositions along the Elbe, a .45 pistol with division and army insignia under transparent plastic grips, and a tommy-gun with our battle-cry, "29 Let's Go," on the stock.

Then, although it hadn't been planned, General C—— asked General Sands to come back with him across the river to his command post.

We crossed the Elbe in one of our Engineer boats and were met on the far shore by a Russian sentry wearing a round, fur Cossack hat, looking exactly like a cover picture for *Soviet Russia Today*. We got into Austin-sized sedans (captured from the Germans) and started down the narrow road against the stream of traffic, a horse-drawn artillery outfit moving up into position. General C—— told us that they had come 60 miles in the past 24 hours, with some scattered fighting en route. They looked remarkably fresh, considering. Their guns were about 75 millimeter, nearly the same design as those we used to use. Then we passed a motorized column made up of assorted trucks, some German, some Russian and a considerable number of American six-by-sixes which, General C—— said proudly, were made by Studebaker. Most of the vehicles had writing on them; I think they were named just as ours are. By our standards the column was shabby because it lacked uniformity, and some of the trucks looked as if they were on their last kilometer.

Except for uniform the Russian enlisted men looked like our GI's, more so than the British, the French or the Germans. They were acting just the way our men act when they have entered a new town. They were riding bicycles down the main street, getting in the way of the convoy. They were tinkering with a German motorcycle, trying to get it started. One of them had found an accordion and was testing it out, although undoubtedly he should have been on another job some other place. They were having a hell of a good time and it made me wonder about their advance reputation for cruelty and ruthlessness. I find it hard to believe that a man whose first act upon seizing a town is to play with a bicycle will, in the next moment, set fire to the farmhouse and rape the farmer's daughter. There were a few German civilians standing around in the streets of the villages. The Russian soldiers' attitude toward them seemed to be exactly what ours is: They completely ignored them.

About every twenty-fifth soldier in this particular column was a girl. One wore a nurse's cap, another was driving the team of horses pulling a supply wagon. The girls looked young and well fed and happy like the men, and I mention this only because it had been eleven months since I had seen a group, other than Americans, who looked as if they had had enough to eat and plenty of sleep.

General C——'s command post was a small brick farmhouse in one of the villages. We sat down in the dining room and he showed us copies of *Pravda* and *Red Star*. They come to him air mail; it takes about four days. An orderly came in and began to set the table and we talked about his horses and Soviet artillery and the exploits of our respective divisions. The two assistant division commanders joined us and we shook hands all around. General C—— went and got the weapons we had presented to him and showed them to his colleagues for their admiration. The orderly continued to bring in plate after plate of food.

We talked about the latest details of the German collapse; they had just as complete information about the situation on the other fronts as we did. They asked whether we thought Hitler was really dead and we said we didn't know, what did they think? General C—— proposed a toast to Franklin D. Roosevelt, to his achievement, and to friendship between our two countries.

By this time the top of the table was buried under dishes of food including lobster, smoked fish, vodka and at least five different wines, and we began to eat. New dishes kept coming. Fried eggs on ham, radishes, more wine; we seemed to make no dent on the supply. I don't know how long the feast might have continued. We had to leave in the middle of it because we were scheduled for a move early the next morning. But before we could go, General C—— insisted that we accept presents from him: cigarettes, badges, two tommy guns and his personal saber.

It was too bad that language stood in our way. We felt that we would have gotten on beautifully if it hadn't been so difficult to talk through the interpreter. We didn't ask them any detailed questions or press them for more information than they volunteered and I think General C—— was following the same tactic toward us. I suspect that we were all being overcautious. They seemed entirely ready to tell us anything we wanted to know. There wasn't the slightest hint of any reticence or taboo. Except for the odd food and strange music from the band in the adjoining room, it might have been any meeting with officers from another American outfit. We understood what they had accomplished; they knew what our problems had been. We had a common goal and worked at the same trade in much the same manner and we felt close together although we couldn't express it in words. We could have gone on eating, laughing and comparing notes all night. I was sorry that we had to leave.

As we got back into their little cars with the guide who was going to show us the way back to the Elbe, General C——, who had behaved all evening with befitting reserve, impulsively threw his arms around General Sands and hugged him. I don't think the gesture was part of the official program. I believe that was the way General C—— felt.

*Somewhere in Germany* CAPTAIN BRUCE BLIVEN JR.

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# Washington Notes

## The Challenge to the Old Order

THE CANADIAN ELECTION is June 11, the British election July 5, and in each case the bold challenger of established order, the aspirant for government control, is Labor. It is the mildly socialist CCF in Canada, the socialist Labor Party in Britain, that asks for power. Labor is already in control of New Zealand and Australia. Win or lose in the elections, the left-wing element is likely to gain seats in the two great parliaments with which the United States must deal.

Conservative Americans vaguely sense the world trend which threatens to leave the United States an ideological island. Disregarding their own hyper-sensitivity, because of which they warned British journals only last fall not to comment on the American elections, they are now telling our allies how to vote. A syndicated cartoon in the New York *Herald Tribune* last week by Ding showed the gruff British Labor Party ordering Winston Churchill out of the pitcher's box, with the score two out and two strikes, and the editorial comment, "It's Going to Be Hard to Explain It to the Bleachers." The Republican *Herald Tribune* is amusingly oblivious to the fact that this was the identical situation last fall when Republicans—not the Labor Party—were trying to get the pitcher out of the box: only in that case it was liberal Mr. Roosevelt and they were trying to substitute conservative Mr. Dewey.

Even this political contrast in Canada and Britain, however, does not give the full perspective by which we can judge the current Washington scene. The "conservative" British and Canadian governments which labor is currently attacking are not really conservative at all in the American sense. The Tories, under Mr. Churchill, have gone further toward the Beveridge social-security program than Republicans and Southern Democrats would ever dream of going. The Canadians, under MacKenzie King, have instituted such typical social legislation as the "baby-bonus" bill, discussed in this magazine last week, which grants direct cash aid from the state to every child in Canada, as a matter of right—not charity. Fancy the row Mr. Truman would kick up south of the border with such a proposal!

This is the situation in the two countries most like the United States. And what is the comparable picture here in Washington?

Well, the contrast is so obvious that it hardly needs stressing. There is no use being bitter about it; conditions and traditions are vastly different here. But in Washington we have what, by either Ottawa or London standards, is a reactionary legislature. It is the legislature with which middle-of-the-roadish Mr. Truman is now trying to work on two big pieces of social legislation.

One is the extension of unemployment compensation to 15 million additional workers. Last August, Congress placed this on an inadequate state basis. The situation is now so bad that the navy has to make urgent appeals for 15,000 specialized workers in West Coast shipyards to help repair damaged warships. Workers in many of these government-run yards are not covered by unemployment insurance, because Congress—on account of its hatred for "bureaucrats" and federal workers—has not put them under the unemployment-compensation scheme. They are naturally leaving their work for safer jobs. Mr. Truman has made a courageous appeal to change the law; an appeal to which Congress is paying no attention, so far as I can judge. At the heart of this problem is the need for federalization. Unemployment is a national problem and the states just can't do the job. (They can't do the job in education either, and a quarter of the American children are today being educationally starved because of the poverty of some of the states, but this is a different matter: if children don't get decent schools they don't know the difference, but grown-ups can tell the dollars-and-cents difference of being insured or not being insured.)

The other big fight is just about ready to break; it is over the full-employment, 60-million jobs, Murray bill. I understand that Mr. Truman will endorse the principle of the bill, and will make a fight for it. I confess I am not very hopeful about its ultimate chances. It should be a spectacular fight, of great educational importance, but it involves so wide a break with existing political and economic thinking in Washington that it is hard to see how it can be adopted.

Actually, nearly all indications here are that the current is running in another direction. There are advance hints that the Administration will give a slight wage increase this summer, and simultaneously allow prices to go up a counter-balancing notch or two; in other words, we shall have a little more inflation. The stock market is already responding briskly to the prospect. The average congressman just can't see the need for a planned economy. The nation is prosperous, he says; corporation profits are at, or near, an all-time peak; with the exception of a few groups, the war has actually made most people better off; and there is enough demand for consumer goods to give America three of four years of exhilarating postwar prosperity. Transitional unemployment?—Pooh! That won't last long when Detroit really starts building cars! So let's not plan; let's try to bungle through.

*Notes.*—Mr. Truman has twice denied it, yet most Washington correspondents continue to believe that Mr. Stettinius will be transferred from the State Department to some important diplomatic post after San Francisco. One reason is that the Secretary of State, under the presidential line of succession, has now also become the Vice President and heir apparent. . . . Plans for trying German war criminals, I understand, include a blanket indictment of certain categories: Storm Troopers, or perhaps Nazi Party members, with membership, ipso facto, an evidence of guilt. . . . Many homecoming correspondents from San Francisco are sadly discovering that few people read their stories; few international gatherings have been so over-covered and under-reported. . . . Dispassionate observers are wondering if Mr. Truman is surrounding himself with

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mediocrities; particular attention centers on politically minded Tom Clark, of Texas, as Attorney General, a spot with almost as much patronage as Mr. Hannegan's as Postmaster General, and with much more positive power in regard to big business. On the other hand, the temporary retention of Judge Rosenman as special assistant is a hopeful sign. . . . The poll-tax battle again puts the moral responsibility on the conservative Southern minority in the Senate for refusing to allow a direct vote; this steady annual agitation in Congress has done wonders in spurring Southern states to act. . . . Note on United States journalism: When a dispute with the mailers' union caused three Detroit newspapers to announce in advance recently that they would be unable to include their usual Sunday supplement of comics, circulation fell off 15 to 20 percent.

*Washington* T. R. B.

# International Notes

## European Federation

A REPORT has reached me of a Conference on European Federation which was held at the end of March under the auspices of the French Committee for European Federation. Among the participants were Daniel Mayer, secretary of the French Socialist Party, André Philip, Joseph Zaksas and other members of the Consultative Assembly; M. Baumel, acting secretary of Mouvement de la Libération Nationale, M. Gazier of the Confédération Général du Travail, and representatives of the Christian and agricultural trade unions; editors of the most important progressive newspapers and journals, including Albert Camus of *Combat*, Emanuel Mounier of *Esprit*, Michel Collinet of *Volonté*, André Ferrat of *Lyon Libre* and staff members of *Témoignage Chrétien* and *L'Aube*.

The conference, I think, is important because it voiced the opinion of the most progressive sector of Europe's new democratic movement. It gains additional significance because the French municipal elections and recent events in Italy have proved that the Socialist movement has emerged from war and fascism as the strongest political factor in European affairs. The resolution adopted by the conference breathes an air of both freedom and confidence. It squarely states that

> the problem of European Federation has now become for the first time one of practical political importance. The atrocities perpetrated in the course of this war, the danger of general enslavement, the proved failure of every state of continental Europe to defend its independence, show clearly that the system of absolute national sovereignty must be done away with in Europe. . . . But open and disguised reactionary forces, both in the political and economic field, will do their utmost to preserve the old system for their own advantage. It is up to the progressive forces which have struggled for the liberation of their countries not to tolerate this restoration. The progressive movements in the various European countries should henceforth make the struggle for unification of Europe the center of their efforts, as this is the indispensable premise for all social and cultural progress on our continent.

The resolution was based on two detailed reports, one by André Ferrat, member of the Executive of Mouvement de la Libération Nationale and Socialist delegate to the Comité d'Entente between the Lyon Socialists and Communists; the other by A. Antonelli, a leader of the Action Party and of the Committee for National Liberation in Northern Italy, founder of the Italian Committee for European Federation, who came from German-occupied Italy to attend the conference.

Ferrat pleaded for a genuinely new analysis of the cycle of European revolutions, counter-revolutions and war. He pointed out that so long as the specific causes of the European chaos are not recognized and removed, Europe will remain a center of unrest, despite agreements between the great powers. Continuous foreign intervention would be necessary, with the possibility of growing friction between the intervening powers which might eventually lead to another war. Europeans, therefore, should not rely exclusively on the Yalta declaration, although it is encouraging in so far as it states the need for a real democratic development in the whole of Europe and rejects, at least in theory, the division of the Continent into spheres of influence. Reconstruction is not possible in the framework of nationalism, *i.e.*, of spiritual and economic autocracy which would subordinate the whole life of a nation to military needs. Any functional solution of the problems of economic progress will be frustrated as long as Europe lives under the shadow of future wars. Moreover, all socialist measures inside a sovereign state would be deprived of their real progressive meaning, as they would ultimately increase the power of a reactionary bureaucracy.

Signor Antonelli stressed the fundamental difference between the prewar and postwar European situation. Though the need for European federation had been clear before the war, it was blocked by the powerful political and economic interests which were closely connected with the national-states system. In addition, the progressive and socialist movements, although they proclaimed international coöperation as their ultimate aim, in practice accepted the international system as it stood and the foreign policy of the ruling interests. For this reason these movements concentrated their efforts on home policy, in the hope that progressive measures in the international field would automatically, as it were, bring about the desired coöperation. The result of this policy was completely negative. The prevailing international anarchy drove each nation to rely on heavy military measures which paralyzed all social progress. Thus the progressive movements were eventually defeated on a front on which they did not even fight.

In the subsequent discussion some of the participants thought the formula of a European Federation too narrow because of the interdependence of continents. Two conclusions were drawn: some believed that only world federation would suffice, while others preferred regional agreements on monetary and economic matters within a world peace organization. The majority agreed that the fate of Europe depended on the ability of the big powers to reach a stable coöperation among themselves. The European nations are therefore deeply interested in the creation of a United Nations organization which shall become the instrument of solving differences between its member states. Such an organization cannot become a federation because the differ-

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ences in social and political structure are too great, and none of the big powers feels in any way compelled to submit to international government. But this does not hold good for the European countries, as their problems are common to all and can only be tackled in common. The conference felt, therefore, that none of the big powers should have any fundamental objections to the creation of a European Federation which would remain, from a military point of view, under the joint control of the big powers and would be far too loosely organized to be capable of an aggressive policy.

An International Committee for the Federation of Europe was set up to make contact with the progressive parties and movements, to call a congress to be attended by delegates of all democratic parties and movements, and to conduct a broad federalist propaganda in France and elsewhere.

E. L. P.

# Seven Who Were Harangued

"COUNTER-ATTACK" is an interesting movie that takes place some time in 1942 in the basement of a Russian factory that has been sealed tight by shelling. Penned up there together are a Russian paratrooper (Paul Muni), a girl partisan (Marguerite Chapman) and seven Nazis. This situation was created by Janet and Philip Stephenson, who wrote the original play, and it seems an unlikely, canned arrangement that was made with the limitations and demands of the stage much more in mind than those of war. The people are in the basement for three days trying to outwit one another: the Russians are trying to maintain their position as captors and to get important information from their prisoners, while the Nazis are trying to get important information from the Russians and also to talk themselves out of being prisoners. After three days the group is rescued by a Russian battalion which reaches the town by an underriver bridge and is led to the basement by the hero's faithful dog. Building the bridge and the dog's part of the movie have the quality of the Rover Boys, but the basement section is engrossing. It is taken up mostly with good, unlikely conversations between Muni and the Nazis, and has portraits of Nazis that seem wonderful in comparison to the average movie characterization.

The Nazis are, I think, too voluble and extroverted as prisoners, and too comic and light to be studied seriously as Nazis, but they are acted with enormous enthusiasm, are well photographed and are shown generally in an unhackneyed way. The one called the "Professor" seemed to me a subtle combination of buffoonery, sharp-wittedness and excessive cruelty; the "Magician" seemed remarkable for having a genuine middle-class nature and the right degree of above-average—but not too far above—bravery, independence and wit; the officer is acted neatly for elfin cunning and superciliousness. The characterization of the paratrooper is less original and less satisfactory, and Muni's acting, which aims at boyishness and a Russian quality, is in a heavy, emphatic style that could be studied in detail from any distance up to a mile. For a number of reasons the action in the basement has a lot of the quality of a high-school sports event. There is practically no ugliness, obtuseness or lack of communication; the three days are taken up with closely contested talking scrimmages carried on as though there were rooters and sidelines; the Germans occasionally go into decorative huddles; there is one stratagem in which the Russian gives a Nazi an unloaded gun that reminded me of certain faking maneuvers in football, and the one time that a German's request for a scrimmage is refused by the Russian it seems very unsportsmanlike of him.

Due in about equal parts to John Howard Lawson's script, James Wong Howe's photography of the Nazis—which is for once dry rather than silvery—Zoltan Korda's directing, and one of these persons' liking for shots in which subjects are arranged in balanced, stark formation, the Nazis are employed with unusual effect, and the film has a good deal of unconventional movie vitality. The Nazis are seldom seen close up or from a point within the group, but are sharply individualized and given a virulent volubility and energy, so that there is constantly a feeling of a group's cunning, frustrated murderousness and life. The movement of a member away from the group is given grandeur by lighting, and pace and excitement by having the hero fuss over how close a Nazi shall come to ask a question. The following items seem to me ingenious devices for keeping you absorbed: having the magician's performance of magic a hypnotic, dance-like affair with an insinuating pattern of sound supplied to identify the noise cigarettes make hitting the inside of a helmet as the magician throws them; having Muni deliver his orders in a rhythmic, whip-cracking way; and using with morbid effect comic-opera posturing and gestures.

MANNY FARBER

# Another War Play

*Foxhole in the Parlor, by Elsa Shelley. Booth Theatre, May 23, 1945.*

JOHN MASON BROWN's "Many a Watchful Night" is the most beautiful and the most profound of the war books that I have seen, and there are numerous other books about the war that have many capital virtues: information, theory, lively spirits or prize American reporting. It is a significant comment on the state of our theatre, and the nature of the theatre art, and the relation of the theatre to its time, that there has been no play of anything like comparable merit. Compared to various books about this moment of history in which we are living, the war plays have amounted to very little at all.

Lawrence Stallings and Maxwell Anderson, co-authors of "What Price Glory," the outstanding play of World War I, have each tried a play about this war, with brief results. "A Bell for Adano," dramatized from a successful novel, has been one of the season's hits and been awarded a prize, but it is only an agreeable and mild piece, of very simple importance. There have been several other war plays, with varying elements of value, often very few. "Soldier's Wife" has been a success but includes the war only incidentally; it is really a little domestic comedy. "The Hasty Heart" is a touching story about a young Scot and the change of heart he had from his contact with the other men in his hospital ward. And now we have "Foxhole in the Parlor."

There would be no reason for any comment in the *New Republic* about this new play but for the fact that it does

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*connect with the war and strives for serious meanings.* It is the story of a young musician who has been turned into a neurotic wreck by his war experience, and in spite of his sister's well meant but destructive intentions, is brought around finally through the kindness of friends and a sex, or love—it is very limply developed—experience, and seems about to be well again when the last curtain falls. Meanwhile he has been writing on a book to stop future wars. The whole impression of the play seems hardly theatre at all but more like reading a mildly engaging book. The other reason for noting "Foxhole in the Parlor" is to keep in view one of our most promising young actors, Mr. Montgomery Clift. His performances in "The Skin of Our Teeth" and as the son, back from the war and wounded, in "The Searching Wind," have been widely noted. In this new role, which has less edge than that son as written by Miss Hellman, Mr. Clift gives the same sincere, moving, well projected and never external performance. The one thing he has to watch is never any lack of rightness in feeling or truth in his aim, but a tendency to clip at his consonants and run his voice into sounds like some of those Mr. Alfred Lunt gets into. Mr. Clift could achieve the same degree of intensity and at the same time employ a better tone.

Miss Grace Coppin plays the sister's unsympathetic role quite convincingly, plays it straight and hard.

Mr. Lee Simonson has done a highly competent and effective setting for the living-rooms of the two houses and the outdoor space between. STARK YOUNG

# Science and Technology

## Biology and International Relations

THE NEED to focus knowledge from every available source on the problems of the coming postwar world is especially pressing in the light of the issues arising at San Francisco. It is particularly important to examine underlying principles, against which details of organization and troublesome matters like the boundaries of Poland may fall into perspective.

It may come as a surprise to some that there is evidence from modern experimental studies in group biology that bears on international problems. The biological information at hand is incomplete and must be used with caution. But the urgency of the situation necessitates breaking through the reticence of the research biologist to set forth some of the human implications growing out of recent work with animal aggregations.

Intensive research in the last few decades has verified the long-known principle that overcrowding produces harmful results, in part because of intense competition among the crowded animals. These harmful effects are now said to illustrate disoperation. In contrast, all through the animal kingdom—from amoeba to insects or to man—animals show automatic unconscious coöperation. There is much evidence that the drift toward natural coöperation is somewhat stronger than the tendency toward disoperation.

Recent experimental findings confirm the insight of earlier biologists—Espinas, Kropotkin and Wheeler among them—that: "Living beings not only struggle and compete with one another for food, mates and safety, but they also work together to ensure to one another these same indispensable conditions for development and survival." This natural mutualism is one of the great principles of biology. It is as important as it is undramatic.

There is a contrasting principle characteristic of the group biology of vertebrates that is much more dramatic, though less fundamental. Groups of fishes, lizards, various birds and many mammals, including man, are often organized into social hierarchies. The social order usually rests on threats or on the direct use of force. The hierarchy in a flock of hens, for example, grows out of the right of dominant hens to peck their social subordinates without being pecked in return. This right is won by fighting, unless each successive opponent submits without a combat. Thus the hierarchy of hens is based on a "peck order." Typically, in a small flock of hens, A pecks B; both peck C; all three peck D; and so on to the *omega* hen that is pecked by all others in the flock. High position in the peck order gives more ready access to food, space, mates and other requirements of hens.

Small-scale human societies are more closely coördinated than are most groupings of other animals. But when we turn to the international scene where nations form the individual units, we find a laxity of integration somewhat similar to that shown in animal aggregations. There is also a very strong tendency to form international peck orders based on actual or potential power that resemble, at least superficially, the hierarchies of hens and other vertebrates.

Much can be said for an established order of dominance and subordination, whether within groups of animals or among nations. There is growing evidence that, with hens again as an example, well organized flocks in which each individual knows and is resigned to its particular social status, thrive better and produce more eggs than do similar flocks that are in a constant state of organizational turmoil. Similarly among nations, relative quiet exists when the international order of dominance is firmly established and generally accepted. Evidence may be taken from parts of the long period when Rome dominated the Western world of her day or, more recently, when England and the growing British Empire dominated the post-Napoleonic scene.

Sooner or later, however, on the international stage as among our groups of mice, or fish, or hens, or other animals, a subordinate always seriously challenges the *alpha* individual or nation. Although the challenger may be beaten back, often many times, eventually *alpha* rank is taken over by a new despot and the cycle starts again. In so far as any new international organization is based primarily on a hierarchy of power, as are the peck orders of the chicken pens, the peace that follows its apparent acceptance will be relatively short and troubled. Permanent peace is not to be won by following the precedent established by the dominance orders of vertebrate animals.

From a political rather than a biological approach, the federal government under which we live was set up in order "to form a more perfect union," not to establish Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania or Virginia, or any combination of them, in *alpha* rank in the new republic. The continuing success of the United States as an integrated unit is closely related to the lack of emphasis upon possible peck orders among the states.

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In contrast to the implications drawn from animal hierarchies based on aggression, the study of natural coöperation among non-human animals furnishes suggestions for lasting stability, at least in limited phases of international affairs. A few brief summarizing statements will illustrate the possibilities: (1) Many animals care for their young even at the risk of their own lives. (2) When food is plentiful, fighting among animals normally decreases, but it decidedly increases with food shortage. (3) A widely varied assortment of animals, predators and prey alike, often ameliorate their common environment to the advantage of all.

Such considerations suggest that an international organization would have a real chance for immediate and lasting success if it devoted itself (1) to seeing that children throughout the world receive adequate care, sufficient food and modern schooling; (2) to ensuring the production and distribution of plentiful food to all peoples; (3) to improving living and working conditions, especially among low-income groups.

So far as they have been practised to date, each of these biologically sound activities has succeeded on a limited international scale; for example, the International Labor Office is perhaps the most successful phase of the League of Nations. An organization of the nations of the world devoted primarily to meeting these and similar human needs would be based on the great drive toward natural altruism that extends throughout the whole animal kingdom.

Given practice in coöperation between national governments, and our human addition to the tendency of all animals to coöperate, we may be able to work out an adequate control even for the prestige problems of the international peck order. It is encouraging to remember that within nations, we already manage complicated group and class peck orders with relatively little use of force. And, at the individual level, unlike the situation with non-human animals or with nations, fighting is no longer approved as a method for determining personal status in the varied social hierarchies of men and women.

W. C. ALLEE

# The Bandwagon

British authorities in Italy were reported to have arrested Pietro Nenni, head of the Italian Socialist Party, near Milan, for an unauthorized speech. . . . Mr. Eden told Soviet Foreign Commissar Molotov that enduring European peace depended on avoiding interference in the affairs of other nations. – *From consecutive paragraphs of "War News Summarized" in the New York* Times.

Marshal Pétain, questioned for two hours yesterday as a collaborationist, sought to shift the blame for France's fate on former Premier Laval, it was reported today. Asked why he appointed Laval if he disliked him, Pétain was said to have replied: "I hoped he would improve." – *UP dispatch from Paris.*

### On the Home Front

Hat Designer Marie Anlauf of Los Angeles "just happened" to be visiting in San Francisco last Tuesday—wasn't at all excited—or particularly interested—in the conference preparations—and neither was Lorna Whittingham, San Francisco dress designer—until—

They began to see the Russians in their high boots and long tunics, the Arabs in their native headdresses and draped robes, the Indians in their beautiful turbans—and—well—both designers have been buzzing ever since. – *From the San Francisco* Examiner.

### Snafu

The editors of *Poetry* call your attention to a regrettable error in the May issue. James Laughlin's poem, "The Avalanche," should end with the line "monument to self-destruction!" (page 73). The next line, "Love you that so long a," is the beginning of another poem whose title, "The Shape of Love," was unfortunately omitted. – *An announcement from* Poetry *magazine.*

### Total-War Department

The government has 2,287 silver finger bowls for sale. Also 7,000 silver finger-bowl trays. The navy turned them over to the surplus-property office of the Commerce Department for disposal. It ordered them for use on warships but found that they won't be needed. – *AP dispatch from Washington.*

*Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the* New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

# Correspondence

## Tito and British Policy in Italy

SIR: Very few people seem to have understood the far-reaching consequences that the dispute over Trieste has already had and will have in the future. Very few people seem to realize that, by his armed occupation of Trieste and its territory, Tito has struck a hard blow at the cause of democracy in Europe.

The Italians themselves had recently recognized the necessity of rectifying the Italian-Yugoslav border. A direct agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia would have been easy: Some territory should have gone to Yugoslavia, and Trieste could have been given the status of an international port with certain guarantees for the Italian population of the city. Two progressive and liberal governments should not have found it difficult to agree on some such solution.

It was, therefore, in Tito's interest to have a progressive and liberal government in Italy. Such a government would already exist in Italy if it weren't for the efforts and intrigues of Great Britain, which, exploiting to the full extent her position as an occupying power, has done her best to strengthen the Italian monarchy, the fascist generals, the reactionaries. The more the Italians have shown their new political maturity and their will to form a government based on popular forces, the more Great Britain has treated Italy as an enemy nation and the more restrictions she has imposed on Italian economic and political life. After the liberation of Northern Italy, the British understood that it wouldn't be easy to counteract the energy shown by the popular forces which had fought the Nazis with so much skill and success. The British and American officials rushed to ask instructions from London and Washington—the Americans seem fully to play the British game—and, having been duly instructed, they stated bluntly that any new Italian government would be held responsible for observing the still secret armistice terms (to be held in reserve in case of need) and must take a pledge not to raise the question of the monarchy for the time being. It was a desperate effort to block the clear will of the Italian people, at a moment when the Committee of National

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Liberation, through the Milan radio, was stating bluntly that the Partisans would not lay down their arms until a really democratic government was established and social reforms carried out.

Nothing could have pleased the British more than Tito's occupation of Trieste. What the British Tories fear most is a united front of the liberal forces in Europe. If Tito had shown his willingness to come to a direct agreement with a democratic Italian government, he would have given support not only to the Italian popular forces, but to the cause of democracy in the whole of Europe. Instead, he preferred arbitrarily to occupy Italian territory, part of which would eventually have gone to Yugoslavia anyway. By so doing, he sowed confusion among the Italian leftists and, above all, he gave Britain a justification for keeping order, for seeing to it that these quarrelsome children are kept in line.

The British policy in Italy is clear: Its aim is to defend the reactionary cause—the monarchists and pro-fascists. The arrest of Nenni was an unmistakable indication of this policy. Let us hope that the consequences of Tito's action will not be disastrous. But if those who call themselves progressives don't see the necessity of uniting against the reactionaries and don't see beyond their noses, or beyond Trieste, they will be all submerged by the tide of reaction which they themselves are so blindly helping.

*New York City* M. MAESTRO

## A Democratic German Press

SIR: The presence in this country of hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war has jumped the demand for German books to unprecedented heights. Up to now this need has not been met by an adequate increase in the supply of good German books—that is, of books free from any vestige of Nazism and worthy of the great ideals of freedom, tolerance and truth. In order to cope, to a modest extent, with the task arising from this situation, a number of writers from Austria, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia now living in this country have banded together in a new publishing venture. Aurora Press (*Aurora Verlag*), a publishing house for free, democratic German literature.

One of the first titles on the Aurora list is a reader for German prisoners of war, an anthology of modern writers such as Thomas Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, Arnold Zweig, and also of classical authors. The title of this reader will be *Morgenroete* (*Dawn*), and Heinrich Mann signs the introduction to it. The 1945 list also contains stories, plays, poetry, essays and art books. Among the volumes scheduled for spring publication are new works by Hermann Broch, Bert Brecht, George Grosz and F. C. Weiskopf.

WIELAND HERZFELDE
*New York City* for Aurora Press

## The Salaries of Congressmen, Cont'd

SIR: John Q. Citizen rises to protest the application of the Manhattan yardstick to federal salaries—National Planning Association, *New Republic* and federal jobholders to the contrary notwithstanding.

This is no mere question of the living and other expenses of members of Congress: it is a question of the proposed ridiculous spread between the meager earnings of the Average Man and the proposed salaries of politicians. It is by no means irrelevant to ask why $900-per-annum school teachers should contribute to the pay envelope of $25,000-per-annum congressmen, why the cream of the social income should go to stimulate "better public service" *at the top*. As for the argument (old as the hills of conceit and vapid as dishwater) that "better" men will seek public office at the higher salaries—in what sense is a man better who finds the public trough more to his taste than the corporate trough, on a strictly porcine basis of selection? The $25,000 man is not by a long shot incorruptible. He has, in a manner of speaking, already been corrupted, puffed up and placed in the upper brackets. His sympathies will turn more and more to the classes and against the masses. He will seek, naturally, not to do better work as a public servant, but merely to keep his lease on the feed bag.

Can't we move an inch away from the pecuniary measure of worth, even in the pages of the *New Republic*? Or does the rich aroma of Park Avenue cast its spell over even liberal editors?

*New Orleans, La.* ALTON R. HODGKINS

## Cars for Wounded Veterans

SIR: I would like to call to your attention an aspect of the veteran problem which I think has been disregarded.

Many of us are going to leave the army disabled, and unable to drive the conventionally controlled automobile. We will need some device that will enable us to use a car—one that can be operated solely by the hands.

I have been trying to acquire such a device, and, to such an end, I have communicated with Bendix and the major motor-car manufacturers—Ford, Chrysler and General Motors. None of these companies has anything to offer, but all have hopes for the future.

Apparently, the American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators has set up a subcommittee to study the problem of issuing licenses to drive to partially disabled veterans. The AAMVA committee asked the Society of Automotive Engineers to work with them on this problem and they are now making a preliminary investigation. One or two experimental cars have been built and tested at Percy Jones Hospital at Battle Creek, Michigan, and up to now, tests have been quite satisfactory. Actual production seems a long way off, though, and my need is of the present.

Perhaps you can give some attention to the need for prosthetics for injured soldiers. To a non-ambulatory man, an auto is a highly essential prosthetic, and, quite frankly, I need one.

*Louisville, Ky.* A VETERAN

## *From The New Republic Mail Bag*

Joseph E. Maddy, president of the National Music Camp at Interlochen, Michigan, writes to us differing with our editorial, "Petrillo and Interlochen" [*New Republic*, February 19, 1945], in which we said the National Music Camp was "a commercial enterprise," in contrast with the Juilliard and Curtis music schools, which we called "non-commercial." Mr. Maddy says the only difference between Interlochen on the one hand and Juilliard and Curtis on the other, is that Interlochen is not endowed, and must furnish what scholarships it can out of its tuition fees rather than out of an endowment fund. He says Juilliard and Curtis do not charge less tuition than Interlochen, despite their endowments.

(An independent investigation shows that the Julliard School does not charge tuition for its Graduate School, which is maintained exclusively for students on fellowships, but that tuition is charged in the Juilliard Institute of Musical Art and the Juilliard Summer School. The Curtis Institute of Music charges no tuition to any of its students, all of them being on a scholarship basis.)

In answer to our statement that Interlochen "students pay a tuition of several hundred dollars," Mr. Maddy replies that the National Music Camp fee of $300 for the eight-week season covers board and room, uniforms, medical care, use of instruments, practice rooms, instruction, recreational facilities and counselor supervision. He also points out that the National Music Camp has been declared tax-exempt by the Office of the Attorney General "because of its non-profit educational status."

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# Books in Review

## This Tree in Bearing

FOR MANY YEARS visitors to the Senate gallery most frequently asked: "Which one is George Norris?" They were pointed out a sad-faced little man with a baggy suit topped by a limp string of bow tie who might have been any small-town minister wearied by the rounds of unhappiness in his district. Even when Norris got up to speak, the impression that here was a great man came only slowly. For the impression of honesty, courage and humanitarianism had to fight its way through one of the plainest manners American public life has ever known.

George Norris' autobiography[1] is very much like George Norris. The writing bumps along unpretentiously, solemnly. Men and things are put down as good or bad with simple finality. Modesty is carried so far that few facts are added to the existing knowledge of the historic battles in which Norris was a central figure. Half a dozen other American liberals have written memoirs which, as books, are far more striking.

But none of these other books has as important a story to tell, and even Norris' persistent under-writing cannot obscure the saga-like quality of his life. Out of the harassing poverty and ignorance of an Ohio stump farm, where the boy slept in a loft open to rain and snow and the parents could write their names only with difficulty, Norris went on to the most distinguished list of specific achievements ever associated with any one congressman—the smashing of Uncle Joe Cannon's dictatorial control of the House, the building of the TVA and Grand Coulee, the abolition of the yellow-dog contract, the passage of the lame-duck amendment, the establishment of America's first unicameral legislature in Nebraska. And all of the great Norris battles were carried on, as this autobiography makes plain, in the spirit of the gentle, iron-willed widow who had raised his food, spun his clothes and influenced him more than any other person. One day the boy saw his mother planting an apple tree. "Why do you work so hard, Mother?" he asked.

"I may never see this tree in bearing," she replied, "but somebody will."

The development of Norris' ideas after he left the Ohio farm provides an almost perfect type-case of the development of general American liberal thought. Settling down in Nebraska to try his luck as a lawyer, he also settled down to a devout Republicanism. "I thought," Norris writes, "the Republican Party was perfect"—just as most public-spirited Northerners and Westerners thought the GOP the only possible instrument of progress, not to say decency. It was largely because of his attitude toward the party that Norris was sent by the machine to the national House in 1903. But the machine misunderstood. Norris, like La Follette and many another incipient liberal, was a fiercely partisan Republican not because he was interested in partisanship but because he believed that the GOP was best for the ordinary people of the country. On almost his first day in Congress, the country lawyer was shocked to discover that a good many Republican leaders thought of the party or of upper-income interests before they thought of ordinary people, and that began a revolt on Norris' part that was to make him a Republican in name only for the rest of his life. He was following the road that liberal America as a whole traveled after the depression of '73, a road that was gradually to lead to the identification of Republicanism with reaction.

It was no less typical that Norris' dissidence at first took the form of a "good-government" drive—a drive predicated on the belief that purely political changes would substantially benefit the general populace. "Good" rather than "bad" men were to be put into office; the machinery of government was to be made more democratic. It was on such premises that Norris first became nationally known by leading the revolt which dethroned Czar Cannon and democratized the House of Representatives. But gradually Norris, along with his reformist allies, began to discern that honesty in office and more democratic machinery were not enough. As industrialism grooved the life of the whole nation ever more deeply, a politician's morals or the nature of political machinery came to seem of less importance than the economic ends to which good or bad men put good or bad machinery.

Norris, who knew so poignantly what flood control and rural electrification could mean to the farmer, was quite naturally carried farthest along this line of thinking by the issue of water-power control. In 1913, one year after his election to the Senate, he became involved in the first of his major power fights—the Hetch Hetchy controversy, which amounted to the economic question of whether the Pacific Gas and Electric Company or the people of San Francisco should control the water that tumbled down from the mountain streams of the High Sierras. Norris came out of this battle against powerful and greedy private interests with a fully developed philosophy of the service state, calling for public ownership in some instances and public regulation in others. For the rest of his forty years in Congress he was to keep right on fighting the political battle for clean government. But the heart of his concern, as of liberalism's concern, had become the use of municipal, state or national power to lift the municipal, state or national standard of living. It is the government's potentialities in the war on poverty that arouses the gallant old battler to the few lyrical passages in his memoirs. Concluding his story of the TVA, Norris writes, "If in the peaceful years ahead new vigor comes to old and wooded hills not only in the basin of the Tennessee but throughout America, and in other regions of the world, and laughter replaces the silence of impoverished peoples, that is well."

The stages in the development of Norris' thought about domestic affairs provide a suggestive commentary on his approach to foreign policy. There is little worth comment in the fact that Norris fought Woodrow Wilson's internation-

[1] Fighting Liberal: The Autobiography of George W. Norris. New York: The Macmillan Company. 419 pages. $3.50.

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alism and with equal fervor backed Franklin Roosevelt's. He was, after all, very much of a Middle Westerner and the Middle West was a good deal more isolationist in 1917 than in the thirties. Of far greater import is Norris' general approach to foreign policy, whether as an anti-Wilsonian or as a pro-Rooseveltian. The approach is essentially political, primarily concerned with good men and good acts, almost devoid of that tough-minded economic questioning about who gets what which he showed in all his later domestic battles. Nor does Norris, even in his most internationalist passages, show any tendency to question the social utility of full national sovereignty as he questioned the comparable domestic doctrine of full states' rights. In these respects Norris' foreign-policy thought seems to be about where his domestic policy was more than three decades ago—and not very different from the internationalism of a good many present-day progressives. The Norris of domestic affairs, who provides a case-study of liberal ideas well developed and magnificently acted upon, turns, in foreign affairs, into a warning example that liberal thought can be too timid, too superficial—and, perhaps, too late. ERIC F. GOLDMAN

# Magna Mater

*The City of Trembling Leaves, by Walter Van Tilburg Clark. New York: Random House. 690 pages. $3.*
*The Folded Leaf, by William Maxwell. New York: Harper and Brothers. 310 pages. $2.50.*
*The Cradle Will Fall, by Stephen Seley. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 220 pages. $2.*

THESE THREE NOVELS are obviously first-hand accounts of the American male's struggles with puberty: his efforts to find out about life, sex, birth, love, art, hatred, death and other myths ignored by our realistic society. Although the writing is, in order, obtuse, evasive and glib, the facts are given honestly and generously enough, and the facts about normal American childhood seem even more ugly and depressing than usual.

It is no accident that all three titles speak of leaves trembling or folded, cradles falling. On this tree nothing grows straight. The women here—and even the little girls are women—represent the active sexual principle. Giving nothing, they are dedicated to capture, possession and social gain. The men, who remain boys, represent the passive, creative principle; they resist capture by trembling, falling, or folding in on themselves. But the women are stronger: their unyielding hunger forces physical rape on themselves and emotional rape on the men. Though it is the men who feel criminal, both sides are equal masters of the subtle atrocity, the crime against feeling; both seem equally panic-stricken over what is happening to them, and both are driven to possess *something*—even if it is only a dead body, strangled in this unnatural embrace.

From the evidence of these 1,200 pages, it would seem that the revolution D. H. Lawrence writes about—the rebellious alliance of mothers and sons against the fathers—was accomplished long ago. Here at worst the father is weak and contemptible; at best he is an unimportant obstacle—even an ally—though the family does its best to restore his old prestige as an enemy. The mothers are uniformly terrifying—more in their essential, unloved being than in their outward manifestations, which are often sympathetic. But it is even worse when the mothers die, as they do in each of these books. Then the sons seem frozen in a trance of guilt, as in the Witch Dance of Bali when they turn their daggers against themselves.

> For she is dying and you, her own dear eldest child, have killed her. So *do as you are told*, you cowardly creature. . . . With some small show of manliness await your fate. . . . If she is dead I will . . . accept gladly . . . the most gruesome tortures as my punishment. . . . I was in the galley of the ship, with Marguerite watching as they beat me. . . . I kissed her and gave her the whip. *(The Cradle Will Fall.)*

This is a fairly glib reconstruction of a young boy's thoughts; the insight has become a formula to destroy the truth. Nevertheless it illustrates the theme of the three novels.

In *The Folded Leaf* the hostile nature of guilt is revealed; the son becomes a stubbornly devoted slave to a bigger, more athletic bully. The latter is the opposite sort of masochist: outwardly cruel and indifferent, inwardly cringing. Like the women in these books, it is the slave who is the stronger; able to endure infinite cruelty, he eventually brings the other to his knees—but only through the extreme gesture of attempted suicide. This attempt—the bloody hackings with a razor, vomiting up the iodine—is a moving scene even as it stands. Unfortunately it is played offstage, with a chorus giving none too accurate psychological interpretations.

Since Mr. Maxwell comes nearest of the three to projecting any emotional truth about his characters, this timidity or evasiveness seems doubly unfortunate. It is the kind of scientific "objectivity" pointed out by Isaac Rosenfeld in connection with *New Yorker* stories (the *New Republic*, December 11, 1944), but here it seems forgivable in view of the extremely close and frightening nature of the material. On the whole Mr. Maxwell has attacked his problems with honesty, taste and an unusual sense of style and form; there are excellent scenes of fathers and sons with nothing to say to each other, motherless boys clutching at family life. But too much of the action is truncated or omitted. A promising scene of high-school initiation turns into a discussion of puberty rites in New Guinea, where the sons symbolically murder and are murdered by the fathers. This of course is neither literature nor science. A good anthropologist would have made it his first duty to describe the initiation in full, and would not have drawn the unwarranted conclusion (from another culture) that "if the fathers had been present," the boys "might have been released forever from the basis of all hostilities." From this it follows that now "Lymie will have to go on smearing his face," etc. "for years to come." This dependence on a Primal Scene is a common one ("a lost child goes on crying, right down to the end of time") but here too many characters are described in terms of a single event. In fact, the childhood trauma is getting to be like the Hollywood wedding night: infinitely fructive, eternal and self-explanatory.

Another common device, which might be called the Freudian Dialectic, is illustrated by the suicide scene. First the motive is stated in terms of its *rationalization* (unrequited love); then the author, with superior insight, tells us

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*by means of a dream* that the boy "really" wanted to kill his friend instead. Such dualism slices a character in half, like Solomon's baby. The use of "really" or "merely" toward human emotions—a typical misreading of Freud—is a belittling device, a new example of the reduction fallacy in literature. And again, even as science the insight is inadequate. By emphasizing the hidden jealousy and hatred (the "real" motives) of one character, Mr. Maxwell neglects the mutual evil of distorted love between the two: the cruelty attendant upon wanting to possess and to be possessed. But at best a formula can only produce a study of types or problems, not a story. One remembers that in Lawrence's "Prussian Officer" the officer was a simple bully and the victim was a simple victim, and yet the situation was allowed to expand in a way both complicated and beautiful.

Of *The City of Trembling Leaves*, there is only room to say that it is a hugely uninteresting success: 690 pages concerning the evolution of a musical genius from puberty to first symphony. The facts are all here; predatory women, weak fathers; the guilty son worshiping "stained-glass virgins" and worrying about his sexual encounters (which are, as a matter of fact, coldly brutal on both sides). But the facts are all covered over with big, beautiful, public emotions like the frosting on a ten-foot wedding cake. It it not so easy as this to grow up, to forget, to marry the right girl and become a famous composer.

MARJORIE FARBER

# Without Fanfare

*To Marry Strangers, by Winfield Townley Scott. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 83 pages. $2.*

CONTEMPORARY American poetry has two easily observed tendencies: baroque over-decoration, which is a tempting fashion, and scholarly restraint, which is a still more tempting shelter from the dangers of personal mistakes. Poets who consistently use either are guilty of snobberies different in kind but not degree. Winfield Townley Scott has too genuine a talent to indulge in any snobbery and too nice a strain of originality to follow a fashion. But he has made use of the shelter of commonplace contemporary criticism often enough to have qualified his originality with a slight strain of the academic. He himself says in Sonnet 29 of a sequence:

Why must I not make that gaudiness
Of poetry in its kind so marvelous,
Its symbolistic, even religious dress
Rich-incrusted, jeweled, mysterious?
No, I have grown into so plain a speech
It is as if I write against the art . . .

No close reader of *To Marry Strangers* would agree that he even seems to write against the art, for in almost every poem the sincere emotion of a very real poet is felt. It is true, however, that his later poems are much plainer in vocabulary and image than his earlier work, and, I believe, not to their betterment. For, in such poems as "Annual Legend" and "How Voyage Safely?" Mr. Scott achieves a provocative music that is not obtainable in the plainer speech and more descriptive manner of, say, the Thirty-seven Sonnets. I cannot help but feel that Mr. Scott has been a little preoccupied with the critical principles of what makes form and style. I wish that he would "let go" and fling his truly intense and honest talent at us in unrestrained armfuls.

For Mr. Scott is a poet who should be notable among us, a poet from whom we should like more revelation, since what he thinks and feels is worth revealing. For example, in "The Children" Mr. Scott performs the true poetic function of opening up a new attitude for us. In the first stanza he compares children to tricky leaves on a meadow wind, an image achievable by any number of poets. But when we reach the second stanza we are suddenly told that "They are the only foreign race, and they have/No nation and they are never a generation." Thus Mr. Scott makes us feel a truth we aren't in the habit of perceiving, and the poem goes forward, incessantly enlarging our understanding in an unexpected way. Or as in the first of the Sonnets, he gives us an intensely fresh awareness of the relation of some commonplace unit to the whole, in this instance, the human hand. *To Marry Strangers* contains many poems which give the reader an authentic emotional experience, the effect being mostly achieved by a particularity of description which precisely defines the poetic situation. Unfortunately, there are a few poems, such as Sonnet 28, which are thoroughly bad, and many that are not exceptional in any way.

Mr. Scott is surely a poet who deserves more recognition, from himself as well as from others. He is too niggardly in presenting us with his thoughts and feelings and does it a little gingerly, instead of declaring his talent with all his might and main. Certainly he has a finer talent than many of the poets now so well acclaimed simply because they do so aggressively declare themselves.

OSCAR WILLIAMS

# A Reader's List

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY COÖPERATION, by George N. Halm (North Carolina, $4). Congress is now ready to decide America's participation in a world monetary system. The interested citizen who wishes to understand the issues around which the debate will turn can find most of the answers in this excellent volume. Professor Halm has performed a notable service by summarizing the voluminous controversy on international monetary

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coöperation. The original White and Keynes plans are carefully analyzed, and the discussions of quotas, gold, creditor nations, exchange rates and exchange control are collated with rare skill. Professor Halm finds that the expansionary features of the Keynes plan are too risky; he prefers the Bretton Woods agreement which, he says, is "a well balanced . . . moderate and progressive document." An unusually long appendix reprints the official texts of all the proposals that led up to Bretton Woods.

HEALTH CARE FOR AMERICANS, by C.-E. A. Winslow (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 104, Public Affairs Committee, 10 cents). Although we are justifiably proud of our medical progress, 40 millions of us live in communities with poor or no medical facilities. Our medical plant seems inaccessible to those who earn less than $2,000 a year, yet that income group comprises the largest segment of the population. Dr. Winslow finds that health-service inadequacies originate in low incomes and high costs, in the unpredictability of medical needs and in the uneven distribution of medical facilities. Effective organization based on insurance principles, he rightly insists, can give us the essential health services we need. Individual industrial plans, physicians-group schemes and similar group-insurance measures are carefully examined; the author concludes that voluntary limited insurance is inadequate, for it fails to reach those who now lack protection. Only a national compulsory health-insurance program can provide comprehensive coverage. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill is an excellent beginning, Dr. Winslow remarks. The pamphlet also summarizes the forward-looking statements of the Health Program Conference and the American Public Health Association, and presents a workable scheme for raising the level of our national health.

STABILIZING THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY, by Miles L. Colean, and Joint Statement of Agreement by NPA's Agriculture, Industry and Labor Committees. Planning Pamphlet No. 41 (National Planning Association, 25 cents). The NPA's Committees on National Policy agree that the construction industry's violent fluctuations contribute markedly to the business cycle. Their "Statement of Agreement" set forth a number of recommendations which seem entirely limited to propositions on what government should do to assist private initiative. The details are supplied by Mr. Colean's report. His discussion effectively summarizes the problems of public works, taxation, credit facilities, the regulation of land subdivisions and the removal of trade restrictions and obsolete structures. An annual wage guarantee is suggested as a means for solving the labor problem in the industry. This proposal has considerable merit; it may indirectly help achieve the desired stability. Both the Joint Committee and Mr. Colean agree that stabilization should be an *ad-hoc* affair; they do not believe that an economy can be aided solely through construction. The report, however, is a worth-while recital of what needs to be done in the essentially backward building industry.

PROVIDING FOR UNEMPLOYED WORKERS IN THE TRANSITION, by Richard A. Lester (McGraw-Hill, $1.50). This volume is the fourth of the Committee for Economic Development's research studies. It is primarily concerned with the various measures that might be adopted to cope with unemployment during the change-over from war to peace. Professor Lester hesitates to estimate the exact number of people that may seek work during this period. He does suggest, though, that adequate preparations be made for a peak of from four to fifteen million unemployed. The proposals he discusses include broadening of unemployment compensation, federal grants for general relief, dismissal wages, education and retraining, and public works. The total cost to the federal government of an integrated program would be about $600 to $700 million for each of the first two postwar years. Professor Lester observes that this is equal to five days of war expenditures now. The future well-being of the nation, he says, will depend on a satisfactory program for unemployment during the transition.

KEEP YOUR HEAD DOWN, by Walter Bernstein (Viking, $2). Among the young writers brought forward by the war who deserve to be watched is Sergeant Walter Bernstein. His book, *Keep Your Head Down*, which consists in great part of pieces which first appeared in the *New Yorker*, tells of his training days in the South, his experience with the famous soldier show called "This Is the Army," his two months with the gun crew of an Atlantic freighter, his battle experiences in Italy and, finally his trip to Tito's headquarters with a band of Yugoslav Partisans. He writes straightforwardly and well, is an excellent reporter with a fine combination of objectivity and feeling, and his book is a good one.

THE LITTLE COMPANY, by Eleanor Dark (Macmillan, $2.75). Though at first the war in Europe seems far away to Australians, the novelist Gilbert Massey knows that the forces that fomented it are the very ones that for the last six years have paralyzed his writing nerve. Mrs. Dark's inquiry into the problem of the creative artist in time of crisis is pursued among a group of flesh-and-blood characters, except for Phyllis Massey, Gilbert's wife, who is in excelsis everything a woman should not be. An interesting psychological study by the author of *The Timeless Land*.

## Contributors

SECRETARY WALLACE'S speech in this issue is based upon his recent address before the Institute of World Affairs, New York City, the research unit of the New School for Social Research.

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CAPTAIN BRUCE BLIVEN JR. is with the Twenty-ninth Division, Ninth Army, in Germany. He is a graduate of Harvard and was formerly a member of the staffs of the *New Republic* and the New York *Post*.

W. C. ALLEE, professor of Zoölogy at the University of Chicago, is the author, among other books, of *The Social Life of Animals*. He is a frequent contributor of articles in the field of social biology.

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MARJORIE FARBER is at present living in Norfolk, Virginia. She has contributed reviews to *Accent*, *Partisan Review*, the *New Republic* and other periodicals. In 1944 she was an assistant editor of the New York *Times* Sunday Book Review.

OSCAR WILLIAMS is the editor of *The War Poets: An Anthology of the War Poetry of the Twentieth Century*, to be published by John Day on June 19. A new book of his own poems, *That's All That Matters*, has just been issued by The Creative Age Press.

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